

MARY ELLEN BIRKETT

Hawai'i in 1819:

An Account by Camille de Roquefeuil

THE YEAR 1819 was a watershed in the history of Hawai'i: on May 8, Kamehameha died, leaving the Islands open to political tensions, new cultural influences, and an uncertain future.¹ The immediate aftermath of Kamehameha's death is well documented, thanks to Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet, captain of the French warship *L'Uranie*, which arrived at the Islands in August 1819.² *L'Uranie*'s mission was scientific exploration of the Pacific. In keeping with the expedition's goal of increasing what was known about the region's physical geography and human societies, Freycinet kept extensive written records of what he observed, as did certain members of his expedition. These journals and letters have been translated into English, making the French view of the political, commercial, and social life of Hawai'i in 1819 widely accessible to the English-speaking world.³

What is not well known is that another French naval officer preceded Freycinet to Hawai'i by eight months. Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil arrived in the Islands in January 1819; he had three meetings with Kamehameha and wrote about these encounters. However, the section of Roquefeuil's *Journal d'un voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818, et 1819* devoted to Hawai'i has been published only in French.⁴

Mary Ellen Birkett is professor of French language and literature at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts.

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The pages that follow present for the first time an English translation of Roquefeuil's view of Hawai'i in the important year 1819. Scholars of language who compare Roquefeuil's original French text with my translation will find that I have attempted not to translate literally but rather to make his prose read easily in modern American English. This occasionally entailed integrating into the body of the translation material that Roquefeuil relegated to footnotes; I have indicated the places where I have made these insertions.

By his own admission, Roquefeuil was no stylist.⁵ Nor was he an analyst; compared to other early accounts of Hawai'i, Roquefeuil's may appear somewhat uninformative. The aim of this translation is to make Roquefeuil's accessible so that its cultural and historical value may be assessed.

FRENCH COMMERCE WITH HAWAI'I

The motives behind Roquefeuil's visit to Hawai'i stem from French commercial interest in the Islands, a competition resulting from France's long-standing rivalry with Great Britain. In 1785, the French government placed Commodore La Pérouse in command of the frigates *L'Astrolabe* and *La Boussole* and commissioned him to range over the Pacific⁶ searching out and exploring islands supposedly missed by the British explorer Captain James Cook.⁷ In 1786, La Pérouse stopped briefly in the Hawaiian Islands. He also surveyed prospects for participating in the lucrative Northwest Coast fur industry.⁸

But any French desire for a share of the economic bounty of the Pacific was severely curtailed by the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars. When the Allies restored the Bourbon Louis XVIII to the throne in 1815, France had no active shipping, her ports were in ruins, and her maritime trade had come to a virtual standstill.

It took a return to political stability and peace, under the Restoration monarchy, for French industry to experience a comeback. Prosperity eventually led to a revival of commerce, especially in the port of Bordeaux, whose shipping industry had been vital to the French economy for more than two hundred years. Louis XVIII counted several influential merchants from Bordeaux among the members of his new government.⁹ One such Bordelais was Baron Portal, a shipowner himself, who was given responsibility for the portfolio of Colonies in

1815 and for that of the Navy in 1818. Portal was determined to develop markets for French manufactured goods in the Americas, India, and Southeast Asia and succeeded in securing a portion of the national budget to underwrite this development.¹⁰

Consistent with early nineteenth-century notions of capitalism, private initiatives also took up interest in commercial expansion. Between 1814 and 1819, venture capitalists from Bordeaux financed some 393 trading voyages destined for the Caribbean, the United States, and Brazil.¹¹ Among these investors, the president of the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce, Etienne Balguerie (known as Balguerie Junior), was particularly aggressive: he sought to enter the China trade. His scheme was "to exchange French manufactured goods for furs on the Northwest Coast of America, then to take these furs to China and trade them for consumer goods that are highly prized in Europe, without further cash expenditure."¹² Inasmuch as the Canton market did a brisk business in sandalwood at that time, Balguerie Junior planned to have his expedition stop in the Islands to add Hawaiian sandalwood to its cargo of furs.¹³

Balguerie Junior was ready to undertake this round-the-world voyage by the summer of 1816. He had equipped a ship, the 200-ton, three-masted *Le Bordelais*, with two-years' worth of supplies; he had engaged a crew of thirty-four; and he had chosen an experienced naval officer—Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil—to command the expedition.

ROQUEFEUIL'S ROLE

Camille Joseph, Marquis de Roquefeuil, came from an impoverished noble family with a long tradition of service to the French crown.¹⁴ He was born in Albi on January 28, 1781, and joined the French Navy in 1801. In the course of rising to the rank of ship's lieutenant, he engaged in combat at sea a half-dozen times, during one of which he was so seriously wounded that the median finger of his left hand had to be amputated. He was inducted into the Legion of Honor in 1810, but further advancement eluded him. In April 1816, he wrote to the minister of the Navy and Colonies seeking the rank of frigate captain and the commission that would earn him this promotion.¹⁵ Instead of promoting Roquefeuil and putting him in charge of a major cam-

paign, the Navy assigned him to only the waters of the southwest coast of France. During a visit to the port of Bordeaux, a fellow naval officer introduced the ambitious—and frustrated—Roquefeuil to Balguerie Junior, who was impressed with Roquefeuil's qualifications. He offered Roquefeuil the command of his proposed commercial voyage around the world. Roquefeuil accepted, enthusiastically.¹⁶

Roquefeuil set sail from Bordeaux on October 19, 1816, crossed the Atlantic, and took *Le Bordelais* along the western coasts of South and North America as far north as Nootka Sound, making several forays for furs, interspersed by sojourns in warmer climates. After more than two years of navigating Pacific waters, Roquefeuil made one last trip to Nootka, then set sail for Canton, via the Hawaiian Islands. He left Sitka on December 14, 1818, and arrived in Hawaiian waters on January 8, 1819.

The following narrative picks up Roquefeuil's account as he is nearing the end of his long voyage. His ship, laden with pelts obtained on the Northwest Coast of America, is en route to Canton, from whence it will return directly to France. He thus approaches the Island of Hawai'i from the north.

ROQUEFEUIL'S ACCOUNT OF HAWAI'I 1819

January 8, 1819

By six o'clock in the morning, we had reached the latitude of the northernmost point of the island of Owehie [Hawai'i]. I turned the ship toward the island's western headland, whose southern part became visible at seven thirty. Thick clouds kept us from seeing it clearly. At noon, the position of the sun indicated our latitude as 20 degrees 17 minutes; the island of Owehie was still perceptible to the west and south-southeast, its closest point lying to the south-southwest. As we drew nearer to land, the wind, which had been variable from north to west, died down completely; we were becalmed and buffeted about by choppy seas. At two o'clock, a chill wind rose from the northeast, rapidly gaining in force. We took advantage of it to head for the channel between Owehie and Mowie [Maui], where the winds were very cold and the water extremely rough. While in the channel, as we followed the shoreline of the island of Owehie from a distance

of two or three miles out, we could see firelight along the beaches even though mist cloaked the mountains further inland. After rounding the northwest point of the island, we followed its western shore to the bay of To'éyaya (Vancouver's Toeaigh) [Kawaihae].¹⁷ The winds that had been so strong on the open sea now moderated so that we could furl our mainsail and run with topsails alone.

January 9, 1819

Early in the morning, we ran the French flag up our main mast and set sail for the bay [Kawaihae Bay]. However, unfavorable winds prevented us from landing at the village where I knew that Taméaméa [Kamehameha]¹⁸—who was still alive and reigning at that time—was often to be found. [In Kawaihae Bay] we saw several canoes and a small two-masted vessel near the shore. At ten o'clock, a small boat came out to us; its crew came on board and informed us that Taméaméa had left five days ago for his residence at Taïroa [Kailua-Kona], where he intended to spend some time. The crew also told us that we could not reprovision our ship on this island because no chief could sell supplies to foreigners without the king's permission. This made me determined to seek out the king at his new residence, a project that was thwarted during the afternoon by southwesterly winds, a north-flowing current, and an accident that forced us to bring to. Conditions were no more favorable that night, although there was a beautiful full moon to outline the silhouette of the volcano, Mowna-Roa [Mauna Loa].

January 10, 1819

Light variable winds from the northwest allowed us to navigate the rocky coast where the sea breaks violently. As we neared Taïroa, two chiefs and an American in Taméaméa's service came to meet us;¹⁹ at ten o'clock, a native came out to bring our ship into the harbor.²⁰ He was decently clad in European clothes and spoke passable English; he showed me papers authorizing him to pilot us through these waters. Because of the northwesterly current on that part of the coast, he took our ship far to the south of the mooring. The winds were so light that it took us until four o'clock in the afternoon to reach the harbor at

Taïroa; we anchored in ten fathoms of water, on a gravel bottom. We sighted the extremities of the island at south 11 degrees east, and north 75 degrees west; the bay itself at north 67 degrees west, 53 degrees east; the rocky point at the northern end of the beach at north 17 degrees west, one mile away. This anchorage does not advance far enough into the bay and is too close to its rocky northern point, against which the current runs. We secured the ship on two anchors, northeast and southwest. I disembarked immediately to pay my official call on King Taméaméa.²¹

At the time of Cook's arrival Taméaméa was the hereditary chief of a canton of the island of Owehie, where feudalism had long been in place (as it had throughout the archipelago). Some years after Cook's passage, a dispute broke out between the chief who was suzerain of the island and his vassals; in a fit of anger, the ruling chief struck Taméaméa in the face. To the Islanders this is the gravest of affronts. To punish the hapless chief for his base conduct, the assembly of chiefs condemned him to choose between dagger and poison. Taméaméa conducted himself so diplomatically during this episode that it was he, not a descendant of the deceased, who was chosen the new suzerain. In the wake of this unexpected but by no means illegitimate advancement (which took place around 1785), Taméaméa forged alliances with, and granted favors to, those chiefs who were most inclined to serve him and who had the greatest influence on their peoples, thereby winning them to his side. He also obtained firearms, munitions, and men skilled in their use from the ships that began to frequent the region.

When he had firmly established his authority on Owehie, Taméaméa attacked one by one the neighboring islands over which his ill-fated predecessor had had some influence. It took bloody warfare, fierce animosity, and extraordinary endurance for Taméaméa to win control of the whole archipelago. He had to override every obstacle stemming from the opposition of ambitious chiefs and from internal rivalries among the Islanders to conquer these lands. When Woao [O'ahu] was at last subjugated in 1808, Taméaméa had dominion over the six easternmost islands of the chain, which were governed by his agents. Although he had not waged war with the remote islands of Atounai [Kaua'i] and Oniow [Ni'ihau], their ruler, Tamari [Kau-muali'i], also paid homage to him. In addition to forcing these for-

merly independent chiefs to answer to him, Taméaméa severely curtailed their local power. He stripped many of their lands, partially dispossessed others, and kept many in his entourage, far removed from their domains.

In addition to keeping these chiefs from posing a threat to him, this despot skillfully won the loyalty of their subjects. The stability and justice of his government now earned him the respect and affection of peoples who had rightly admired him for his military prowess. More than one European kingdom would do well to imitate the way in which he ordered and policed his states. Taméaméa rewarded his most courageous and faithful warriors by ennobling them and giving them land, prizes that bound them firmly to him. He adopted some European customs, but did not impose them; he himself kept to native ways of observing religious and political ceremonies.

The secretary to the king of the Sandwich Islands, Elliot [Juan Elliot d'Castro],²² presented me to this sovereign, whom we found seated on the beach near one of his dwellings. Despite his advanced age, Taméaméa was still in good health in January 1819. Far from presaging immanent death, his bearing showed signs of the prodigious strength with which he had been endowed. He wore the kind of European clothes that our artisans wear in winter; his appearance was clean and decent. A serious and searching gaze was the distinguishing feature of his countenance. As for his character, satisfied ambition seemed to have produced insatiable avarice. He took an interest in the memorable events that have shaken the civilized world and what he knew about these occurrences (even our recent disasters) appeared to have left him with a good opinion of France.

Taméaméa asked me about my voyage and about our cargo, and was rather disappointed when I told him that it did not contain luxury goods. He then asked for news from Europe and inquired about the health of various rulers. Two of his wives²³ who were present also showed interest in the civilized world and knew something about its most prominent personages: one of them wanted to know more about Napoleon. The chief put off until the next day all talk of my business. In the course of my second meeting with him, the following day, I acquired fresh provisions and some native-made rope in exchange for carpenters' tools, the only articles of my remaining cargo [of French manufactured goods] that Taméaméa found of

interest. My attempts to buy sandalwood came to naught: the price he asked was exorbitant. The king readily granted me permission to go to Anaroura [Honolulu], on the island of Woao, where I needed to go to get water, wood, and other supplies that were more easily attainable there than on this part of Owehie.²⁴ I was eager to go there for another reason as well: I hoped to sell the remainder of our cargo that we knew we could not dispose of in China to one of the many ships that stop regularly in Anaroura in the course of their frequent Pacific voyages.

That afternoon, many natives came on board, among them the hereditary prince Riorio [Liholiho],²⁵ Tamamarou [Kamamalu]²⁶ his wife and half-sister, and one of the king's wives, accompanied by a retinue of guards and courtiers. We honored Riorio with a three-cannon salute when he disembarked. Although the pilot had stayed on board to police the ship during the prince's visit, we noticed that a few small items were missing; the pilot could not determine who might have taken them. These minor thefts excepted, we had no complaints about our native visitors.

I took leave of Taméaméa that evening. He seemed more affable during this last meeting than during our earlier ones. For my part, I tried to dispel the negative impression that the depleted state of our ship, the first French vessel to come to the island of Hawai'i, might have made. (At the time of my visit, I did not know that Captain Bou-rains had already brought the frigate *Canonnière* to the Islands on his way to Mexico).²⁷ The mention of France led the chief to recall my illustrious and ill-fated compatriot La Pérouse, who had come to Maui in two large vessels bearing the French flag. Taméaméa wanted to know the name of the king of France and asked me to transmit his best wishes for the good health of His Majesty. The old chief did not fail to add that we needed to pay him a fee in order to enter the port of Honolulu.²⁸ I took on board a confidential messenger charged with relaying the king's orders by word of mouth to the governor of Woao.²⁹ Other passengers were the wife of the Englishman Young and a young woman from Woao who joined us after we had left the harbor.³⁰

The short trip to that island took nearly three days because the winds, which varied from northeast to southeast, were light and broken by periods of calm. En route, we glimpsed the islands Taourowa

[Kaho‘olawe], Mowie, Ranay [Lana‘i] and Morokay [Moloka‘i].³¹ We passed two leagues from Ranay; it is an arid island bearing no visible signs of cultivation or habitation. Near Morokay, we encountered a forbidding storm on the night of the 13th–14th. There was much rain and thunder, but little wind; as we approached Woao, the storm gathered such strength that even though we were close to the island we could not see it until daybreak. We kept about two or three miles out from the shoreline as we proceeded along the stretch of Woao’s eastern coast that lies northeast and southwest. As we came to the southeastern tip of the island, around ten o’clock in the morning on the 14th, a black American joined us on board as pilot.³² Under his direction, we crossed the pleasant-shored Bay of Witite [Waikiki]. At noon we anchored on the western edge of Anaroura Bay, in the roadstead, where we found twelve leagues of water and a bottom of small coral, broken shell, and fine sand. We sighted the northern tip of the island at 80 degrees west, south 76 degrees east; the flagpole of the port was to the north-northeast. The three-masted ship *Eagle* from Boston was the only ship in port.³³

Three American captains³⁴ cordially welcomed me when I went ashore; they invited me to stay with them. Thanks to Don Francisco Paulo y Marina [Don Francisco de Paula Marin], a Spaniard and long-time resident in this country,³⁵ I made contact that evening with Bouky [Boki], a chief of Owehie who governs Woao for Taméaméa. I also made arrangements to resupply our ship and negotiated with Captain Davis [William Heath Davis] the exchange of our remaining cargo for sandalwood.³⁶

January 15, 1819

The wind suddenly shifted to the southwest, bringing with it the threat of bad weather. These southwesterly winds, which can blow with gale-like force in the winter months, made the harbor untenable; I therefore decided to anchor in the port. Our pilot (an Englishman in Taméaméa’s service)³⁷ had us cast off in a light westerly wind, which drove our ship to the coral reef at the eastern shore of the harbor, where she ran aground. A catamaran and small canoe helped free her, but her stern scraped bottom for a good ten minutes. She was not stranded, she did not take in water, and this accident pro-

duced no apparent damage. At two o'clock we moored by the fort in six leagues of gray, muddy water, putting down two anchors to the northwest. We sighted the mouth of the bay to the southeast and to the west 9 degrees north and the flagpole of the fort to the north 19 degrees east, at a distance of five or six cables.

January 20, 1819

Having loaded water, wood, and provisions, as well as the sandalwood we had purchased, we were ready to make our departure, but southerly winds and periods of calm kept us in port for seven days, making us lose precious time. The frustration produced by this unfortunate delay was tempered by the kindness of my hosts, the American captains, who did everything possible to make my extended stay pleasant. I am delighted to be able express in writing my gratitude to Monsieur Davis, Monsieur Meck [Meek] (the owner and captain of the *Eagle* from Boston), and Monsieur Pigot,³⁸ who had first come to these parts several years ago on the *Forester*³⁹ (and who had just returned to Hawai'i from Kamtchatka, after having twice crossed the continent).

January 26, 1819

We took advantage of the cool northeast wind to have two of the *Eagle's* dinghies, a double canoe, and our large dingy tow us out of the port of Anaroura at seven o'clock. Captain Meck [Thomas Meek], who had come to see us off, shared a last bottle of wine with us. As he left our ship for the last time, we gave him the same salute he had given me when I had dined on his ship (a mere two days after his own arrival). He called back a word of thanks; it felt like we were leaving behind a true friend.

The wind shifted to the south and almost completely died down, so that we made little progress that day. At sunset we calculated our position to be 21 degrees 13 minutes north, 160 degrees 20 minutes west; from this point, I turned the ship toward the Marianas, our next stop en route to China.

The Sandwich Islands are already important, and are destined to become even more so, as the Northwest Coast of America becomes

increasingly colonized. (This archipelago is composed of twelve islands, situated between the 18th degree 54th minute and the 22nd degree 15th minute north latitude and the 217th degree 30th minute and the 225th degree 34th minute of longitude. When Cook discovered the first five of these islands, he named them the Sandwich Islands in honor of the First Lord of the Admiralty at that time).⁴⁰

Even today, the archipelago is of worthy of interest, despite the underdeveloped state of its civilization and agriculture. Its ports offer convenient stopovers for ships that ply the American coast or that cross the Pacific. Supplies are abundant there, and thanks to the king's efforts, the country is so well-run and native laws and customs so fair that one has no fear of entrusting one's ship to native workers when it needs repair.

The Americans have discovered several good ports in the Islands, in addition to the moorings that Cook and Vancouver used. The island of Owehie has one such port in the bay of Weytēa [Hilo]; Vancouver found this anchorage unsuitable because it is situated deep in the bay, can be entered only by following the western shore, and can be exited only when the wind is from the north. However, mooring is secure there, in seven leagues of water. Moreover, since this side of the island is more fertile than the windward side, one readily finds water, wood, and provisions.

Woao has an excellent natural port in the coral reef that lies along the southern shore of the island. The harbor consists of a lagoon that twists and turns for about two miles; its mouth is about a cable's length wide and its interior about two-and-a-half cable lengths wide. Across from the mouth of the lagoon is a large rock; to the west of this rock the water is only about twelve feet deep at low tide; the entry lies almost south quarter southwest and north quarter northeast on the compass. In order to enter, one must line up the point of the fort and a masonry warehouse to its north. A similar building will be several quarters ahead to port. One must keep the rock to port to find four leagues of water and a coral bottom. The lagoon is seven leagues deep at its entrance and six in its interior; the bottom is muddy throughout. The port makes two bends, the first to port, and the second to starboard. Nevertheless, the passage from entrance to interior is not difficult: when the sky is blue, the water in the channel and the water over the reef have different colors. A ship can go as far as the fort and

still be in four leagues of water. Ships that moor here pay eighty piastres per anchorage; those that moor in the outer port pay sixty; all pay twenty-five for being piloted in and out. Part of the reef consists of an open bank; the sea breaks unceasingly not only there but also in the channel when the strong southwesterly winds of winter are blowing. This reef makes it dangerous to anchor in the bay at Witié, roadstead for the port at its western end.

The Americans were the ones who discovered this port; its narrow entry eluded the indefatigable Vancouver. According to his maps, it lies 21 degrees 20 minutes north and 157 degrees 58 minutes west of Greenwich, or 160 degrees 20 minutes from Paris. The [compass] variation is 10 degrees northeast. The village of Anaroura occupies the western part of a fertile plain that extends for about a half a league from the sea to the mountains. Supplies are plentiful in the village; our predecessors have seen to it that some European staples are now included in what the natives grow. A large stream empties into the port at the western edge of the village. European ships cannot enter the port at low tide. To procure wood, one must deal directly with the chief.

I was unable to obtain a satisfactory estimate—however rough—of the population of the Sandwich Islands. People who have been coming here for some time contend that the number of natives has decreased and cite as proof of this the decline in agriculture: many lands formerly cultivated now lie fallow.⁴¹

The natives are robust and exceptionally resistant to fatigue. We were amazed at how well the inhabitants of the Torrid Zone can bear the cold and hardship of navigating off the Northwest Coast of America without damaging their health. It is a point of honor among young Hawaiian men to make more than one sea voyage: every trading ship headed for the coast counts natives among its crew. Indeed, when we were in the Chatham strait, we took on two from the *Brutus*;⁴² they withstood the icy cold of New Archangel [Sitka] while laboring just as strenuously as our seamen, who were used to such adverse conditions. So many natives have undergone this apprenticeship that they man Taméaméa's navy.

The Indians⁴³ use many of our carpenters' tools and do so adroitly; they are also familiar with our firearms; they like to wear European clothes—especially those made of our lightweight blue material—

instead of native ones. But that is the extent of the influence that the civilized world has had on the activities and customs of the Sandwich Islanders: the natives have made no changes in the way they build their houses nor in the way they live their lives.

Livestock thrives; today there are large herds of cattle, sheep, and goats in the archipelago; however, even though the natives do not eat much meat, navigators can seldom procure any of these animals to feed their crews because Taméaméa owns them all. Horses—originally from California—have also multiplied; I have seen a good fifty of them roaming the plain of Anaroura; they appear perfectly healthy, but are not put to use in any way.

European vegetables constitute but a small part of the native diet, even though the climate and soil of the Sandwich Islands are favorable to growing them. Only those that require little labor, such as pumpkin-squash and watermelon, can be found; the natives rarely raise any others.

An old Prussian soldier, whom fate has led from the camps of Frederick the Great to Woao, has a garden that supplies ships stopping over in Anaroura with excellent fresh produce.⁴⁴ Don Francisco Marina [Don Francisco de Paula Marin] makes a fairly decent wine from vines he brought from California. This industrious soul also distils juice from native sugar cane and grows fruit trees. His experiments in growing coffee, indigo, and cotton have been no less successful: proof that one could grow the highly valued products of both East and West Indies in this archipelago. Hard work would be involved, but these products could become important items of trade. In order for this to happen, however, the natives' tastes, indolence, and aversion to cultivating the land must be overcome. This change in attitude must be brought about by civilization: progress that stimulates industriousness by creating new needs.

A square fort armed with forty cannons protects the port of Anaroura on the south coast of Woao, which serves as a gathering point for all Pacific vessels. This defense is imposing but ineffective, since inexperienced natives serve as gunners. They readily admit their amateurishness but insist that cannon fire would be but the first of many obstacles that attackers from the sea would have to overcome.⁴⁵

Built in the shape of a square measuring about 300 feet to a side, its south front faces the exterior port and channels, its west front faces

the inner port, and its two other sides face land. The south front has only a simple parapet; the other three faces form a rampart eight to nine feet high. The two seaward faces are armed with forty cannons; the southern face bears 18-caliber guns. The major weakness of this construction (which is of [John] Young's design) is that bombardment from a ship in the harbor would strike not just one but three of the fort's sides. All its cannons are mounted on navy gun carriages, which for the most part, the natives themselves have built.

The driving force behind construction of the fort was Taméaméa's alarm at the arrival of the Russians in Atonay [Kaua'i]. Governor Baranoff [Alexandr Baranov]⁴⁶ decided to set up a colony there, to exploit the sandalwood trade while it still existed. This foreign enterprise (to which the ruler of Atonay did not object) so aroused Taméaméa's fears that he decided to take strong defensive measures. When Monsieur Hiegmeister [Hagemeister]⁴⁷ arrived in Sitka, this Russian enterprise came to an end; it had never prospered; large sums of money had been poured into it in vain; it had produced only distrust of Russians among the natives. These feelings, which had subsided with the withdrawal of the Russians from Atonay, have been rekindled by the recent visits of the *Rurik* and the *Kamtchatka*.⁴⁸

Taméaméa also had assembled a European-style navy, consisting of three brigs of 150–200 tons and four small schooners.⁴⁹ These ships traded in furs along the Northwest Coast of America. Natives (who quickly become good seamen) man them almost entirely; it is truly remarkable how these young men born in the Torrid Zone bear the fatigue of this exhausting work.⁵⁰

A short time before we arrived in the Islands, Taméaméa had sent a ship to China under his personal flag (seven horizontal bands alternating red and white). The Chinese did not permit this unknown ship to land at Canton; as a result, the Hawaiians were forced to sell their cargo of sandalwood in Macao.⁵¹

Sandalwood is at present the only commodity that may be exported from this country, although by dint of hard work all that is grown in the Antilles could also prosper here. The Americans were the first to exploit the sandalwood trade; for the last twelve years it has been an important branch of their commerce.⁵² The cargoes they have shipped have come primarily from Woao, where little sandalwood remains in the vicinity of the port. The interior of the four main

islands, particularly Owehie and Mowie, is still covered with sandalwood trees, which produce wood of lesser quality than that of the Malabar coast and Timor. Tamari [Kaumuali'i], chief of Atonay, also counts sandalwood among the resources of his island. Taméaméa generally reserves for himself the trade of this precious wood and all other commerce of major importance as well (he allows only a handful of his favorites to do business with foreigners). By trading sandalwood and the fresh produce so abundant in the Islands to the navigators (mostly American) who have been coming to the Islands for thirty years, Taméaméa has acquired firearms of different caliber, several thousand guns with a proportionate amount of ammunition, merchandise of all kind in excess of his needs, and 200,000 piastres.⁵³ He has had stone warehouses erected to contain these riches.

Taméaméa owns much livestock descended from the animals that came with the first navigators: on Woao he also has horses of Californian origin. Until recently, natives and navigators have had no benefit from the increasing numbers of these animals: they are not put to work. Furthermore, even though the chief rarely eats meat, he is disinclined to sell his animals to foreigners.⁵⁴

The bases upon which the Americans first established their operations no longer exist now that the king has munitions, arms, cloth, and merchandise of all kinds in abundance. All his needs and wants—in terms of knowledge as well as of material goods—are already satisfied. When I visited him, the old chief wanted only luxury goods—fine woolens, muslin, and delicate wines. Since satisfying the whims of an old chief is so unpredictable, trade in Hawaiian sandalwood (which Canton markets already consider of second-rate quality) is likely to suffer further decline.⁵⁵

The death of Taméaméa occurred only a few weeks after my visit to the Islands. When this notable personage died, the country was prepared for revolution, insofar as Riorio [Liholiho]—quite different from his father—was believed to have inherited little of his father's authority and few of his abilities. People generally thought that he was not destined to reign over the islands his father had conquered. They predicted that the local animosities and ancient family ambitions that Taméaméa's power and force of character had held in check would resurface after his death. Moreover, Riorio's stepmother [Ka'ahumanu] (Taméaméa's favorite wife and member of a very powerful

family) stood in formidable opposition to Riorio. The young prince was not without his strong points, but his superficial knowledge of European customs and poor judgment added to the danger of his situation. Rumor even had it that instead of following his father's observance of native ways, he was eager to do away with the taboos upon which all political and religious law repose in the Pacific islands.⁵⁶

DISILLUSIONMENT

So end Roquefeuil's pages on Hawai'i. When he left O'ahu on January 26, 1819, Roquefeuil took the sandalwood he had obtained there to Canton; from China he crossed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope in August, and returned to Bordeaux on November 21, 1819. Before undertaking the expedition, he had expressed his and Balguerie Junior's high hopes for the voyage's outcome as "opening a new branch of commerce for the products of French soil and industry; overcoming France's lack of relations with China, thereby bringing new wealth to France; and providing a training ground for future naval officers through experience gained in commercial navigation. . . . Moreover, this expedition may make some useful discoveries in the area of navigation. . . . This voyage aims to be of general interest; it should also render me better able to serve my king, by augmenting my own knowledge."⁵⁷

Return to France confirmed that, for the purposes of general reconnaissance of the Pacific and the prospects of trade there, the expedition had not been in vain. The French government recognized Balguerie Junior's contribution to the national welfare by awarding him the Legion of Honor.⁵⁸ But the greater prize of profit escaped his grasp. Balguerie Junior had not been well informed about the rather stiff competition, had under-financed the operation, and had selected the wrong goods for exchange.⁵⁹ It was clear that single-venture voyages such as that of *Le Bordelais*, without prepared contacts and without support from the government, were not viable. The French derived no major wealth from the China trade nor from commercial relations with the West Coast of America, the Marquesas, and Hawai'i. Indeed, in the years from 1819 to 1828, only five other French merchant vessels are known to have stopped in Hawai'i.⁶⁰

Roquefeuil's hope of making new discoveries, advancing knowledge about navigation, and bringing new talent into the French navy

had also met with defeat. He had not had the leisure to explore; his nautical observations were mainly of technical value; and deaths, desertions, and threatened mutiny soon put paid to potential recruitment of sailors for the French navy. The claim that Roquefeuil was the third Frenchman to circumnavigate the globe did not impress the minister of the Navy.⁶¹ The Navy never promoted Roquefeuil to captain, a slight that forced Roquefeuil to abandon active duty altogether on June 26, 1822.⁶² The only concession the Navy eventually made was to appoint him port captain at Saint Paul, on the isolated island of La Réunion in the Indian Ocean. Suffering from catarrh, rheumatism, and nerve damage resulting from the amputation of his finger, Roquefeuil occupied this post from 1826 until his death from dysentery five years later.⁶³

Roquefeuil had been forgotten in Hawai'i long before his unnoticed death. His passage through the Islands in January 1819 was overshadowed by the dramatic events of the year that ensued. Kamehameha died in May, suddenly destabilizing the political situation of the Islands. Rival chiefs contested his son Liholiho's right to rule. When the French warship *L'Uranie* arrived in the Islands in August, Captain Freycinet found himself under pressure to declare his support for Liholiho. The fact that outside aid in internal matters was freely sought, and freely given, was to be a milestone in the political evolution of Hawai'i.⁶⁴ But this was not the only new element introduced to the Islands by the Freycinet expedition: Kalanimoku, prime minister of the kingdom, and his brother Boki, governor of Hawai'i, asked *L'Uranie*'s Catholic chaplain, the Abbé de Quélen, to baptize them in the Roman Catholic religion.⁶⁵

New commercial and cultural forces joined these new political strategies and new religious influences. Two whale ships came to the Islands in October,⁶⁶ the first of a fleet whose presence would set the economy of the Islands on a new course. And in November, Liholiho overthrew the foundations of the Hawaiian culture by abolishing the *kapu* system. The slate of Hawaiian cultural life had been wiped clean, open to the powerful evangelizing impact of the American Protestant missionaries, who would arrive in 1820.

Indeed, so many transformations had occurred in the Islands after Roquefeuil's visit there in January 1819 that it could be said the Hawai'i he encountered no longer existed when his *Journal d'un voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818, et 1819*

appeared in print in 1823. Perhaps this is the reason that when an anonymous translator published an English version of *A Voyage Round the World, between the years 1816–1819, by Camille de Roquefeuil* in 1823,⁶⁷ he omitted all but a paragraph of Roquefeuil's chapter on Hawai'i.

This anonymous translator's elimination of Roquefeuil's pages on Hawai'i is the final twist in this tale of disillusionment. Not only did the French appear indifferent to Roquefeuil's report on Hawai'i, which they had in hand as early as November 1819; the English-speaking world of the nineteenth century was forever denied the opportunity to determine for itself the value of Roquefeuil's account.

NOTES

I would like to thank Smith College for granting me time to research and write, David Ball for applying his translator's expertise to my version of Roquefeuil's difficult prose, and Peter H. Searl for sharing his wide-ranging knowledge of Hawaiian history and love of the exact word at every stage of my work.

¹ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1: 1778–1854: *Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1938) 61–62.

² Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet (1779–1842). Captain of a voyage of exploration that departed on September 14, 1817, from Toulon, bound for Gibraltar, Tenerife, Rio de Janeiro, and Australia by way of Capetown and Mauritius. From Australia *L'Uranie* sailed to the East Indies, the Marianas, Guam, and Hawai'i, anchoring in Kealakekua Bay on August 8, 1819. The expedition remained in Hawai'i until August 30; later, *L'Uranie* struck a rock while putting in at the Falkland Islands and was shipwrecked. Freycinet purchased a three-master, which he renamed *La Physicienne*, and sailed her to France, arriving home on November 13, 1820. John Dunmore, *Who's Who in Pacific Navigation* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1991) 108–10.

³ Ella L. Wiswell, trans., *Hawai'i in 1819: A Narrative Account By Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet*, ed. Marion Kelly, Pacific Anthropological Records, 26 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum; 1978); Marnie Bassett, *Realms and Islands: The World Voyage of Rose de Freycinet in the Corvette Uranie, 1817–1820* (London: Oxford UP, 1962); Anon., trans., *Narrative of a voyage round the world in the Uranie and Physicienne corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820; on a scientific expedition undertaken by order of the French government*. In a series of letters to a friend, by J. Arago, draftsman to the expedition, with twenty-six engravings, to which is prefixed the report made to the Academy of Sciences, on the general results of the expedition (London: Treuttel and Wurtz, 1823).

⁴ Camille de Roquefeuil, *Journal d'un voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818, et 1819*, par M. Camille de Roquefeuil, Lieutenant de vais-

seau, Chevalier de Saint-Louis et de la Légion-d'honneur, commandant le navire *Le Bordelais*, armé par M. Balguerie Junior, de Bordeaux, 2 vols. (Paris: Lesage; Gide; Ponthieu, 1823) 2: 339–61.

- ⁵ Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: v–vi: “The reader should not expect to find in this work the kind of rhetorical composition that dazzles at the expense of the truth: the language here belongs to a man of the sea who sets down what he sees. . . .”
- ⁶ Jean François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse (1741–c. 1788). The French government expedition under his command was to search for the Northwest Passage from the Pacific side. He sailed from Brest on August 1, 1785. La Pérouse reached Alaska, visited the Hawaiian Islands (La Pérouse Bay, on the southern coast of eastern Maui, honors him today), Macao, the Philippines, Japan, Kamchatka, Samoa, and the Friendly Islands. In 1788 he sailed from Botany Bay to return to Tonga and explore New Caledonia before returning to France; some time in June 1778, however, a cyclone struck the vessels by night and drove them against reefs surrounding the small island of Vanikoro. Details of the shipwreck came to light only forty years later. Dunmore, *Who's Who in Pacific Navigation* 151–54; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1993) 56–57.
- ⁷ Captain James Cook (1728–1779), English navigator and explorer who, in the course of his third voyage of circumnavigation, first sighted the Hawaiian Islands in 1778. On February 14, 1779, the theft of a cutter by Hawaiians led to an affray at Kealakekua Bay on the Island of Hawai'i, Cook's failure to capture the king, and to his death. Richard Hough, *Captain James Cook: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997) xv–xviii.
- ⁸ Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise* 68.
- ⁹ John Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. 2, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1969) 50.
- ¹⁰ Jean-Paul Faivre, *L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique de 1800 à 1842* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1954) 226.
- ¹¹ Faivre, *L'Expansion française* 227.
- ¹² Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: xx. In 1816, limiting cash flow out of the country was of great concern to France, because of her outstanding war reparation payments. (Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: 1–2).
- ¹³ As early as 1790 foreigners had known that sandalwood was growing in Hawai'i; trade in this fragrant wood, highly prized in China, began to be conducted in volume in 1811. Ross H. Gast and Agnes C. Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin: A Biography by Ross H. Gast; The Letters and Journal of Francisco de Paula Marin*, edited by Agnes C. Conrad (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1973) 41.
- ¹⁴ Augustin Joseph, Marquis de Roquefeuil (father of Camille de Roquefeuil) to minister of Navy, June 11, 1816, Service Historique de la Marine, Paris (hereafter SHM).
- ¹⁵ Roquefeuil to minister of Navy, April 23, 1816, SHM.
- ¹⁶ Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: 3. The Navy granted Roquefeuil permission to join

Balguerie Junior's expedition and agreed to pay him one-third of his naval pay for its duration. However, Roquefeuil was required to take leave from the Navy in order to undertake this voyage.

- ¹⁷ Captain George Vancouver (1757–1798) had first visited Hawai'i when he served as a midshipman on Cook's third voyage to the Pacific, 1776–1780. In 1790, the British Admiralty sent him in command of an expedition to continue the survey not completed by Cook of the northwest American coast. He was further instructed to winter in Hawai'i and survey that area. Vancouver visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1792, 1793, and 1794. Robert Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands on H.M.S. Blonde*, ed. Pauline King Joerger (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1971) 117–18. The Navy's Dépôt des Cartes et Plans had provided Roquefeuil with maps, charts, and books, including Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World . . . in the "Discovery"* (London, 1801). Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: 4.
- ¹⁸ In the translation that follows, I have opted to keep Roquefeuil's spelling of Kamehameha's name to retain some of the flavor of the original French text.
- ¹⁹ It is difficult to know who these chiefs and this American might have been. As early as 1812, Archibald Campbell remarked that "there were nearly sixty white people upon Wahoo [O'ahu] alone. . . . Although the great majority had been left by American vessels, not above one third of them belonged to that nation; the rest were almost all English. . . . The king has a considerable number in his service, chiefly carpenters, joiners, masons, blacksmiths, and bricklayers." Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World from 1806 to 1812* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1967) 118–19.
- ²⁰ Probably Naihe Kukui, son of the chief Hanakahi, known also as Jack the Pilot or Captain Jack. He had been the pilot for the Russian explorer Golovnin in 1818 and would pilot Freycinet from Kailua Bay to Kawaihae in August 1819. Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 11, 100.
- ²¹ Information about Kamehameha contained in the following three paragraphs appears as a footnote in Roquefeuil's original narrative (*Journal* 2: 339–40). Roquefeuil does not identify the source of this idealized story of Kamehameha's early rise to power, which contrasts sharply with versions found in native histories such as John Papa I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, ed. Dorothy B. Barrère (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1959) 3–14 and John F. Pogue, *Moolole of Ancient Hawaii*, trans. Charles W. Kenn (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1978) 77–80 and in versions related by non-natives, such as Urey Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968) 129–31. See also Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 1: 32–38.
- ²² Juan Elliot d'Castro was a Portuguese who arrived in Hawai'i before 1812; he acted as physician and secretary to Kamehameha. Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beerin's Straits* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1967) 1: 292). Roquefeuil's description of Kamehameha comes from one of his footnotes (Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 342).

- ²³ Kamehameha had many wives, as many as eighteen or twenty. I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*; Jane L. Silverman, *Kaahumanu: Molder of Change* (Honolulu: Friends of the Judiciary History Center, 1987) 7. In 1816 Kotzebue met three of them; he names only Ka'ahumanu (Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*, 1: 306).
- ²⁴ Juan Elliott d'Castro asked Don Francisco de Paula Marin to supply Roquefeuil on January 11, 1819. Gast and Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* 170.
- ²⁵ Liholiho (1798?–1824), the elder son of Kamehameha and Keopuolani, who became Kamehameha II in 1819 upon the death of his father. Gast and Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* 325.
- ²⁶ Kamamalu was a daughter of Kamehameha and Kaniu (Kalakua); she married her half-brother Liholiho. Gast and Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* 322.
- ²⁷ Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 347n1. The captain of the *Canonnière*, Joseph-César de Bourayne (1768–1817), sailed for Mexico on April 19, 1807; his was the first French ship to cross the Pacific in more than sixteen years. Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific* 2: 45–46; Dunmore, *Who's Who in Pacific Navigation* 38.
- ²⁸ "Previous to entering the harbour of Honorora (Honolulu), they [ships] must pay eighty dollars harbour duty, and twelve dollars to John Harbottle, the pilot. This duty has only lately been laid on, on account of the King's brig *Taamano* [Ka'ahumanu] having to pay for her anchorage at Macao, when sent there with a cargo of sandal wood, in 1816. Tameameah [Kamehameha] justly observes, that if his ships have to pay on entering a foreign port, it is but reasonable that foreign ships should pay on entering his ports." Peter Corney, *Early Voyages in the Northern Pacific, 1813–1816* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Gal-
leon Press, 1965) 192.
- ²⁹ Boki, the younger brother of Kalanimoku (Kamehameha's prime minister, d. 1827) "had been governor of Oahu from the time that Kamehameha ordered all chiefs to Oahu in 1816 to expel the Russians." I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* 145.
- ³⁰ The concluding sentence of this paragraph is Roquefeuil's note (Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 347). John Young (d. 1835) was an English seaman who had been in Hawai'i since 1790; he was attached to the court of the king and for many years was advisor to Kamehameha in his relations with foreigners. He supervised the building of the fort in Honolulu in 1816 (Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 1: 25, 58; Gast and Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* 331). His first wife was Namokuelua; his second wife, Koanaeha (Mary Kuamo'o), was the daughter of Keliimaikai, Kamehameha's youngest brother. Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 102, 105, 129.
- ³¹ Gary L. Fitzpatrick, *The Early Mapping of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1986) 40–41.
- ³² Probably Anthony D. Allen (1774–1835), known as Alani. Marc Scruggs, "Anthony D. Allen: A Prosperous American of African Descent in Early 19th Century Hawai'i," *HJH* 26 (1992): 55–93.
- ³³ The *Eagle*, owned by its captain, Thomas Meek (d. 1841), was a merchant ves-

sel. In August 1819, Rose de Freycinet observed: "Captain Meek, several months out from Boston, had a cargo of skins collected on the north-west coast of America and was now at Hawaii to buy sandal-wood from the king—for it was a royal monopoly—before proceeding to China to sell both wood and furs. While waiting for his freight he was engaged in coastal trade between the various islands of the Sandwich group." Bassett, *Realms and Islands* 162.

³⁴ Roquefeuil's entry for January 20 indicates that these three were Captains [William Heath] Davis, [Thomas] Meek, and [William] Pigot.

³⁵ *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* (1774–1837) was a Spaniard who became a resident of Hawai'i in 1793 or 1794 after deserting from the Spanish naval service. The Hawaiians called him Manini. Marin served as Kamehameha's interpreter and business manager, particularly in dealings with the captains of merchant vessels. Gast and Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* 4; Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 112.

³⁶ William Heath Davis (d. 1822) was a sea captain and trader from Boston, who, along with the brothers Nathan and Jonathan Winship, had been responsible for launching the active exploitation of the sandalwood trade for Kamehameha in 1811 (Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 1: 86). Freycinet elaborates: "Mr. Davis was at the same time a captain and a factor in the fur trade with the Northwest Coast of America in the sandalwood trade at the Sandwich Islands. Settled for the time being at Wahou [O'ahu] in the interest of his business, he had several vessels here under his orders. By his wealth, his education, and his polished manner, he naturally held the first rank in this savage land. Consequently, he was treated with the highest consideration" (Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 34).

³⁷ John Harbottle (d. 1830). I'i records that Captain J. M. Harbottle navigated the king's ship *Keoua* out of Honolulu harbor in 1812, and Kotzebue tells that when he arrived in Honolulu Bay "The Governor sent us a pilot. He was an Englishman of the name of Hebottel in the king's service; and it was his business to conduct into the harbour all ships which arrived there." I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* 104–105; Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*, 1: 321. See also Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World* 113 and note 29 above.

³⁸ William J. Pigot, an American sea captain and trader, had been master of the *Forester* before its sale to Kamehameha. Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*, 1: 324.

³⁹ When the brig *Forester* was sold to Kamehameha for sandalwood in 1816, it was renamed *Kaahumanu*. Kamehameha's first and only direct sandalwood trading voyage to the China market was made in 1816 or 1817 with the *Kaahumanu*. Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 114–15; 87.

⁴⁰ Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 344–45n1.

⁴¹ Freycinet, too, obtained only estimations of the population of the Islands, declining from 400,000 in 1779 to 264,160 in 1805. Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 66.

- ⁴² The *Brutus*, under Captain Nye, hailed from Boston. Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific* 2: 59.
- ⁴³ "Most early explorers referred to indigenous peoples indiscriminately as 'Indians.'" Wiswell, *Hawaii in 1819* 93.
- ⁴⁴ This "old Prussian soldier" remains unidentified.
- ⁴⁵ The preceding paragraph comes from one of Roquefeuil's footnotes. Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 341.
- ⁴⁶ Aleksandr Baranov, in charge of the Russian-American Company since 1799, "ruthlessly and vigorously enlarged the Russian presence in the North Pacific, eventually establishing satellite settlements south to California and the Hawaiian Islands." Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise* 58. For the specifics of his actions in Hawai'i, see Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 1: 55–60.
- ⁴⁷ Captain Hagemeister, who had been bred in the English navy and who could speak English fluently, was commander of the Russian imperial ship *Neva* on a mission of forming a Russian settlement at the Hawaiian Islands. Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World* 83.
- ⁴⁸ The *Rurick* was the ship of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue, Russian Imperial Navy, which visited the Islands in 1816 and 1817; the Hawaiians viewed it with uneasiness until they learned that its mission was a peaceful one. The *Kamtchatka*, a warship under the command of Captain Vasili Golovnin, arrived in Honolulu in October 1818; it received a friendly welcome from Kamehameha. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 1: 59–60. Roquefeuil may have learned of the visit of the Russians from Don Francisco Marin, whom Golovnin had engaged to supply his ship. Gast and Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* 67.
- ⁴⁹ Freycinet's figures for the Hawaiian navy of August 1819 are higher: "five brigs of 90 to 100 tons each, an equal number of 60- to 70-ton schooners, and about ten 20-ton cutters—all in all, twenty vessels of European type." Wiswell, *Hawaii in 1819* 91.
- ⁵⁰ The observations in the preceding paragraph come from one of Roquefeuil's footnotes. Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 341.
- ⁵¹ Freycinet's account of the *Kaahumanu*'s expedition is less romantic than Roquefeuil's: "In 1817 . . . Taméhaméha attempted, on his own, to send one of his vessels, the brig *Forester*, to China with a load of sandalwood. The captain in charge of directing the operation was British, and the sailors for the most part were Sandwich Islanders. The crossing to Macao was good, and the return voyage to the Islands, after seven months of absence, was also smooth, but profits were far from the expectations of the businessman, because expenses had absorbed a great part of the capital, and he had to be satisfied with just a small lot of napkins, silks, woolens, hats, shoes, porcelains, wines, rum, sugar, tea, etc., which they managed to acquire." Wiswell, *Hawaii in 1819* 87.
- ⁵² Imports of sandalwood in American vessels rose in Canton from 900 piculs (of 133 1/3 pounds each) in 1804–1805 to 19,036 piculs in 1811–1812. Samuel Eliot Morison, "Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789–1823," *By Land and By Sea* (New York: A. Knopf, 1953) 70.

- ⁵³ In 1804 Lisiansky remarked that Kamehameha already had "so great a quantity of small guns, swivels, muskets, and ammunition, supplied by the ships of the United States, that these articles in the island of Owyhee [Hawai'i] have greatly sunk in value." Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World* 116.
- ⁵⁴ The preceding paragraph is taken from Roquefeuil's footnote. Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 342.
- ⁵⁵ Trade in Hawaiian sandalwood did indeed fall off under the less conservative policies of Liholiho. "Traders vied with one another in stimulating the royal appetite, which fresh levies of sandalwood on the unfortunate subjects alone could satisfy. . . . As a result Liholiho and the royal family exploited their subjects ruthlessly and the forests recklessly. . . . Sandalwood became scarce and high at Hawaii, but a drug in the Canton market; by 1825 the fragrant wood had become so scarce that the trade dwindled to an end." Morison, *By Land and by Sea* 74.
- ⁵⁶ Roquefeuil's footnotes. Roquefeuil, *Journal* 2: 358-59; 342-43.
- ⁵⁷ Roquefeuil to minister of Navy, June 10, 1815, SHM.
- ⁵⁸ Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: xxiv.
- ⁵⁹ Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: 20; 2: 383.
- ⁶⁰ Léonce Jore, *L'Océan Pacifique au temps de la restauration et de la monarchie de juillet (1815-1848)* (Paris: Besson et Chantemerle, 1959) 2: 11.
- ⁶¹ Roquefeuil, *Journal* 1: 3; 2: 381-82 and Roquefeuil to minister of Navy, Dec. 31, 1826, SHM. Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1811) had made a voyage round the world in 1767-1769. Etienne Marchand had circumnavigated the globe in 1790-1792. Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise* 54-57.
- ⁶² Roquefeuil to minister of Navy, Dec. 1, 1830, SHM.
- ⁶³ Governor of La Réunion to minister of Navy, Nov. 29, 1831, SHM.
- ⁶⁴ Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 21-23, xi.
- ⁶⁵ Wiswell, *Hawai'i in 1819* 24-28, 35.
- ⁶⁶ One of them was the *Maro* of Nantucket, Captain Joseph Allen. Morison, *By Land and By Sea* 73.
- ⁶⁷ Anon., trans., *A Voyage Round the World, between the years 1816-1819, by Camille de Roquefeuil, in the ship Le Bordelais* (London: Richard Phillips and Co., 1823; reprinted: Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1981).